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# Community collaborations: The Australian National University and the Canberra & District Historical Society

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This second number of the *Australian Journal of Biography and History* is the result of a joint project between the School of History at The Australian National University (ANU) and the Canberra & District Historical Society (CDHS). The idea of a collaboration had been mooted when, as the inaugural editor, I discussed the idea with a society member, James McDonald, that as one of its earliest ventures, the new journal should focus a number specifically on Canberra biography. As a relatively recent appointment to the university, I had not been aware of the previously close relationship between the university and the society until a conversation with Patricia Clarke, a long-time and continuing member of the society's committee, and a regular contributor to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ADB). Pat had arrived in Canberra in 1957 with her husband, the former prisoner-of-war, federal public servant and author Hugh Vincent Clarke (1919–1996),<sup>1</sup> and had quickly become involved in 'the unexpectedly rich cultural and intellectual life'<sup>2</sup> of their new home town. The CDHS was but one of the cultural organisations that attracted members from a cross-section of Canberra society. But perhaps more importantly to the Clarks, it was unusual in that it brought together historians from the recently established ANU, and capable and committed lay practitioners.

Most people had jobs in the public service or at the ANU but in their spare time were involved in a whole lot of areas—literature, amateur theatre, and an array of intellectual and cultural societies. There were clubs everywhere, and they flourished. People arriving in Canberra were surprised at how active it was, and how many interesting people were involved.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Chris Coulthard-Clark, 'Clarke, Hugh Vincent (1919–1996)', Obituaries Australia, National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University (hereafter Obituaries Australia), accessed 11 June 2019, [oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/clarke-hugh-vincent-1560](http://oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/clarke-hugh-vincent-1560).

2 Malcolm Allbrook, 'Pat Clarke', in *Biography Footnotes*, issue 18, February 2018, 9, accessed 11 June 2019, [history.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/bf-no-18\\_1.pdf](http://history.cass.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/bf-no-18_1.pdf).

3 Allbrook, 'Pat Clarke', 9.

In his *History of Canberra* (2014) Nicholas Brown commented that in the 1950s the number of societies exemplified the opportunities that a place part capital city, part country town could provide. Indeed 'voluntarism was ... often all there was to meet a need',<sup>4</sup> and services, as well as community facilities and cultural initiatives, often came about through the efforts and persistence of residents. Yet in 2019 this feature of Canberra life that had so attracted the Clarkes seems to have largely evaporated, and with it the previously close, almost symbiotic, relationship between ANU and the CDHS. The society had formed at a meeting at the then Canberra University College (CUC) on 19 December 1953, largely on the instigation of William Phillip Bluett (1871–1968), a former newspaperman, local government politician and landholder. A prolific correspondent to the local press, Bluett had the ability to motivate others, and to do so across social boundaries. A colleague, Philip Selth, who was to become a secretary of the CDHS and the author of six *ADB* biographies, remembered him as one of those 'energetic souls who spend their lives shaping the communities around them'.<sup>5</sup> Born at Wagga Wagga, Bluett had acquired interests in a number of Sydney newspapers, until he chose a life on the land, and purchased Koorabri in the Brindabella ranges in 1911. Involved heavily with the Queanbeyan-Canberra and District Chamber of Commerce, he unsuccessfully sought election to the Lower House seat of Goulburn in 1925 as a progressive candidate. Among the many causes he advocated, he was particularly keen on local history and the need for a local historical society, and was aggrieved that contemporary Canberrans appeared uninformed and, in their ignorance, promulgated errors about the past. By 1953 he had decided that, with over 40 years having passed since the foundation of the capital, the time had come to establish a historical society.<sup>6</sup> The inception meeting drew an audience of 73, including 'leaders of thought in our National City',<sup>7</sup> and descendants of those who had settled the area before it became Canberra. Bluett stressed that the society should devote itself to the 'true picture' of Canberra history, and be prepared to 'give both sides of the story ... on one side the land-owners and the free settlers and on the other the convicts'.<sup>8</sup> It should also 'gather as much material as possible' about the Aboriginal people of the region, a subject he professed to know something about.<sup>9</sup> Importantly, the meeting adopted two recommendations that were to define its future activity: first to establish archival facilities 'to promote the compilation of authentic historical records'; and second to involve itself in protecting the district's heritage, 'places of historic and aesthetic interest'.<sup>10</sup>

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4 Nicholas Brown, *A History of Canberra* (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 152.

5 'An Ideal Figure to Study a District', *Canberra Times*, 6 February 1985, 20.

6 'Why Not an Historical Society for Canberra?' *Canberra Times*, 7 October 1953, 2.

7 'An Historical Society for Canberra', *Canberra Times*, 10 November 1953, 2.

8 'Canberra Historical Society Formed', *Canberra Times*, 11 December 1953, 2.

9 'Aborigines Advised Ainslie to Choose Duntroon', *Canberra Times*, 30 April 1954, 2.

10 *Canberra Times*, 11 December 1953, 2.

The make-up of the first committee reflected Bluett's vision that the society should broadly represent the people of Canberra and its district, and involve academics, public servants, journalists and representatives of the 'old settlers', such as the Campbell, McIntosh and Cameron families. As a small city, Canberra in the 1950s remained a place where boundaries between groups that in larger places might be exclusive were malleable, a feature that many found appealing, or at least compensation for the relative dearth of entertainment and recreation facilities. Yet many found the city small, sterile and introspective. Paul Hasluck, who came to Canberra from Perth with the Department of External Affairs in 1941, was at first annoyed by the place:

The best that can be said for it is that it is a completely sterile and safe cage in which public servants can work clearly without any major excitements to disturb their routine. One misses the intellectual movement that there was in Perth.<sup>11</sup>

His wife Alexandra wondered what she had done to deserve exile in Canberra. 'My idea of hell has always been of a freezing region,' she wrote, 'and here I am for my sins.'<sup>12</sup> The Haslucks later came to appreciate what Canberra had to offer—from involvement in repertory to academic and scholarly life—and found it not so inferior from other capitals in its cultural and intellectual life as Paul had imagined. Indeed, by 1948, before he was elected to the federal parliament, he was attracted by the possibility of a return to Canberra, either in a research role with the new ANU, or teaching undergraduates at the CUC. The college, which had been offering degree courses since 1930, was itself shaped by the particular circumstances of the growing city, being conceived partly to reassure potential recruits to the public service that they 'would not be coming to an educational desert'.<sup>13</sup> All students during its early years were part-time, and most were public servants who attended lectures 'dutifully, if often sleepily, between 5.00 and 9.00 pm' at various temporary quarters around the city.<sup>14</sup> During the 1950s, however, after the appointment in 1949 of John 'Joe' Burton as principal and professor of economic history, the college entered a period of growth and consolidation. Four 'foundation professors' took up appointments at the reinvigorated college: Manning Clark as professor of history; Fin Crisp as professor of political science; Heinz Arndt as professor of economics; and A.D. Hope to the chair in English. At its Childers Street base, a 'lively community' formed, where the 'whole staff, clerical as well as academic, congregated each morning in the tea room'.<sup>15</sup> By contrast, ANU had been conceived as an institution befitting

11 Geoffrey Bolton, *Paul Hasluck: A Life* (Nedlands, WA: UWA Publishing, 2014), 105.

12 Ann P. Hunter, 'Hasluck, Dame Alexandra Margaret (Alix) (1908–1993)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, The Australian National University (hereafter *ADB*), adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hasluck-dame-alexandra-margaret-alix-18561/text32678, published online 2017, accessed 15 June 2019.

13 S. G. Foster and Margaret M. Varghese, *The Making of the Australian National University: 1946–96* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996), 8.

14 Foster and Varghese, *The Making of the Australian National University*, 144.

15 Foster and Varghese, *The Making of the Australian National University*, 148.

the grandeur of a national capital, and began life in 1948 with the appointment of Sir Douglas Copland as vice-chancellor.<sup>16</sup> In the Research School of Social Sciences, made up of six departments, Laurie Fitzhardinge began work in 1951 as reader in sources of Australian history. This was his second stint in Canberra, having from 1934 been research officer responsible for Australian collections at the Commonwealth National Library (from 1960, the National Library of Australia), until moving to Sydney as a lecturer in classics at the University of Sydney.<sup>17</sup> He had become imbued with the potential of a national biographical project comparable to the British *Dictionary of National Biography*, and immediately set about laying the groundwork for what was to become the *Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB)* by employing Pat Tillyard (from 1954, Wardle) to help compile a comprehensive biographical register that, when the dictionary commenced in 1957, comprised a major source.<sup>18</sup> The same year as Fitzhardinge arrived, Oskar Spate was appointed professor of geography in the Research School of Pacific Studies. A ‘polymath whose interests knew no mental or geographical boundaries’, he had broad research interests that traversed the Indian subcontinent, New Guinea and Fiji, while also extending into the Australian cultural landscape.<sup>19</sup> Fitzhardinge, Tillyard and Spate, with Manning Clark, were in 1953 to become members of the new CDHS committee, with Fitzhardinge, Clark and Tillyard active members and office-holders over the first decade of the organisation’s life. Another ANU academic, the economic historian John Bailey, son of the then Commonwealth solicitor-general Sir Kenneth Bailey, was also a significant early member, being the society’s first treasurer until he moved to Oxford to undertake doctoral studies in 1955.<sup>20</sup>

Throughout the 1950s, although its population almost doubled during the decade, Canberra remained a small place ‘with all the benefits and drawbacks that small towns tend to offer’.<sup>21</sup> As well as working together, people ran into each other constantly, meeting and talking ‘at the local shops, perhaps about the local school or the housing problem, and on weekends their families shared picnic spots at Weston Park or along the Murrumbidgee River’.<sup>22</sup> The voluntarism that Nicholas Brown identified as a feature of the period extended to organisations such as the CDHS, in which academics such as Clark, Spate, Fitzhardinge and Bailey could not only exercise their scholarly interests, but also be involved in community and social service. The first committee was indeed a polyglot body involving people from

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16 Foster and Varghese, *The Making of the Australian National University*, 8.

17 Graeme Powell, ‘Fitzhardinge, Laurence Frederic (Laurie) (1908–1993)’, *ADB*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fitzhardinge-laurence-frederic-laurie-384, published online 2017, accessed 12 June 2019.

18 Patricia Clarke, ‘Wardle, Patience Australie (Pat) (1910–1992)’, *ADB*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wardle-patience-australie-pat-17092, published online 2016, accessed 14 June 2019.

19 Foster and Varghese, *The Making of the Australian National University*, 107.

20 Jack E. Richardson, ‘Bailey, Sir Kenneth Hamilton (1898–1972)’, *ADB*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bailey-sir-kenneth-hamilton-9404, published first in hardcopy 1993, accessed 14 June 2019.

21 Foster and Varghese, *The Making of the Australian National University*, 149.

22 Foster and Varghese, *The Making of the Australian National University*, 149.

a range of backgrounds and professions. Apart from academics, and landowners such as Bluett, it included people such as Loma Rudduck, wife of the architect and town planner Grenfell Rudduck,<sup>23</sup> and Mrs Lyndsay Gardiner, both of them active in a number of community organisations. Another foundation committee member was Arthur Thomas Shakespeare, editor of the *Canberra Times*, which had been founded by his father Thomas in 1926. He also was active in many community and quasi-governmental organisations such as the ACT Advisory Council and the ANU Council and, having sold out of the newspaper, was to become chair of the first Canberra television station, which was founded in 1957 and started broadcasting in 1962.<sup>24</sup> The representative nature of the committee was rounded out by the election of J.H.L. Cumpston, by 1953 in retirement after a career in which he had served for over 20 years as the Commonwealth director-general of health and had written biographies of the explorers Charles Sturt, Thomas Mitchell and A.C. Gregory.<sup>25</sup>

During the first decade of the CDHS, Fitzhardinge and Clark each served two terms as president, and attended meetings as often as they were able; Wardle joined the council in 1960 and served for 20 years, becoming president from 1965 to 1967.<sup>26</sup> Clark was by the 1950s entering a period of academic prominence that required him to be away from Canberra frequently. Nonetheless, when he was at home he took seriously his role with the CDHS and while president (1957–59) rarely missed a meeting. His enthusiasm for the work as well as the potential of the society is unsurprising given his interest in Australian historical source material, exemplified by the publication of his two-volume work *Select Documents in Australian History* (1950, 1955). While the works for which he is best known—the six volumes of his *History of Australia*—were not to start appearing until 1962, his journals demonstrate that throughout the 1950s and early 1960s he was preoccupied with the conceptual development of his magnum opus.<sup>27</sup> As Mark McKenna described, Clark was one of the first Australian historians to consider both the importance of place and the biographies, particularly the inner lives, of the characters who populated Australian history. The goals of the CDHS to collect, preserve and organise historical source materials and to cultivate relationships between its members and those who had ‘made’ Australian history were thus entirely consistent with Clark’s priorities as a historian. The CDHS brought together the kind of people he was interested in and felt comfortable with, rather than his fellow academics, many of whom he disdained or mistrusted as being overly concerned with questions of theory over

23 Ian W. Morison, ‘Rudduck, Grenfell (1914–64)’, *ADB*, [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/rudduck-grenfell-11583](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/rudduck-grenfell-11583), first published in hardcopy 2002, accessed 14 June 2019.

24 H. J. Gibbney, ‘Shakespeare, Arthur Thomas (1897–1975)’, *ADB*, [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/shakespeare-arthur-thomas-8525](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/shakespeare-arthur-thomas-8525), first published in hardcopy 1988, accessed 14 June 2019.

25 Michael Roe, ‘Cumpston, John Howard Lidgett (1880–1954)’, *ADB*, [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cumpston-john-howard-lidgett-5846](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cumpston-john-howard-lidgett-5846), first published in hardcopy 1981, accessed 14 June 2019.

26 Clarke, ‘Wardle, Patience Australia (Pat)’.

27 Mark McKenna, ‘Clark, Charles Manning (1915–1991)’, *ADB*, [adb.anu.edu.au/biography/clark-charles-manning-225/text29719](http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/clark-charles-manning-225/text29719), published online 2015, accessed 15 June 2019.

history. Throughout the 1950s, including during Clark's terms as president, the question of how the documents and sources of history should be stored became increasingly pressing for the society and Clark attended many meetings to try and resolve the problem of a headquarters. In his 1959 presidential address, he urged members to maintain their resolve: local history, he said, 'provides the mass of detail that other horizons shun'.

The Society must have an office, some space of its own from where it can function better; where members, friends and visitors could drop in. This would be to the material benefit to the Society. The Society cannot be allowed to continue operating inefficiently.<sup>28</sup>

Clark's uneasy relationship with his university-based colleagues reflects a wider rejection by academic historians of local and family history, as well as biography, as Melanie Nolan has described.<sup>29</sup> As the discipline of history became ever more professionalised throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, historians distanced themselves from what they regarded as 'antiquarianism' and, while biography and local and family history continued to flourish, they did so outside the academy and away from the gaze of the 'professional' historian. Academic historians, Nolan wrote, 'particularly those who wanted to think of history as a science, or at least a social science, considered biography to be anecdotal, unrepeatable, unrepresentative, subjectively interpreted single examples, simply n=1'.<sup>30</sup> The location of the *ADB* within a university was unusual in the annals of national biography projects,<sup>31</sup> and to some extent was a consequence of the perspectives of those such as Clark, Fitzhardinge and the first chairman of the *ADB* editorial board, Sir Keith Hancock, who understood the importance of archives and source materials, while also recognising that historical knowledge did not necessarily reside solely in the halls and tutorial rooms of universities.

Indeed, the university(ies) and the CDHS enjoyed a close relationship, particularly during the 1950s, '60s and '70s, which extended from practical support to common interests and membership. Until at least 1965, the CUC and ANU supported the society where they could, the former providing its senior common room for general meetings, an arrangement that continued after the society took custodianship of Blundell's farmhouse in 1964, and ANU contributing secretarial and copying services to produce society reports and the journal. Fitzhardinge and Clark gave papers at society meetings, Fitzhardinge served on the editorial board of the society's

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28 Canberra & District Historical Society, *Annual Report* (Canberra: The Society, 1959), 6.

29 Melanie Nolan, 'Kindred Practices? Local, Family, and ADB Historians', *Whole Histories: Keeping the Stories Alive* (Yass, NSW: Yass & District Historical Society, 2017), 113–23.

30 Nolan, 'Kindred Practices?', 115.

31 The Canadian dictionary of national biography is the only such project, apart from the *ADB*, to be attached to a university history department. It is associated with two universities, the University of Toronto and, in keeping with its bilingual product, the Université Laval in Quebec City.

journal, and helped coopt colleagues such as the historians Allan Martin and Robin Gollan, the prehistorian John Mulvaney and the anthropologist W. E. H. Stanner to give papers at society meetings. The relationship between the society, and the CUC and ANU, which amalgamated in 1960, became if anything even closer after the establishment of the *ADB*.

Apart from Fitzhardinge and Tillyard, Nan Phillips was an active member of the society and at the same time was on the staff of the *ADB*. To Don McDonald, a long-time office-holder (1968–74; president, 1969–71),<sup>32</sup> she almost personified the society and was involved in every aspect of its operations, from administration to events organisation. At the same time, Geoffrey Serle, general editor of the *ADB* from 1975 to 1987, considered her the ‘heart and soul’ of the *ADB*. She saw her role as helping to establish the society’s holdings, and thus, as McDonald wrote in an obituary, ‘to provide accurate and complete information about the region’s history with individual members being encouraged to interpret that material’.<sup>33</sup> Seeing the potential of regional historical societies working together to form a unified voice, she was active with the Federation of Australian Historical Societies as secretary and treasurer. She was employed as the *ADB* administrator from 1962 to 1983, and in addition showed herself to be a competent researcher and author, writing 10 *ADB* articles, and assisting in the preparation of many more. Jim Gibbney (1922–1989) was another whose work straddled the society and ANU by virtue of his employment with the *ADB*, where he worked from 1965 until 1983. Born and educated in Western Australia, after gaining a BA from the University of Western Australia, he moved to Canberra to take up a position as a trainee librarian at the Commonwealth National Library in 1950. He became interested in archives and, over the next few years, formed the view that archivists, librarians and historians should work cooperatively, as their roles were very closely associated, particularly in relation to biography. Indeed in his view, in order to be effective in any of these fields, one should be competent in the others. Intimately involved with the Biographical Register at ANU, he not only authored an extraordinary 81 articles for the *ADB*, but also contributed his research skills to many more. At the same time, he was honorary archivist with the CDHS.<sup>34</sup> While undertaking this role, he authored two local histories, *Eurobodalla: A History of the Moruya District* (1980) and *Canberra 1913–1953* (1988), for which he had been awarded a PhD the same year, and prepared *Historical Records of the Australian Capital Territory: A Guide*, which was published posthumously in 1991.

32 Philip Allan Selth, ‘McDonald, Donald Ian (Don) (1923–1990)’, *Obituaries Australia*, accessed 19 June 2019, [oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/mcdonald-donald-ian-don-15360/text26569](http://oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/mcdonald-donald-ian-don-15360/text26569).

33 D. I. McDonald, ‘Phillips, Nancy (Nan) (1908–1984)’, *Obituaries Australia*, accessed 18 June 2019, [oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/phillips-nancy-nan-814/text26570](http://oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/phillips-nancy-nan-814/text26570).

34 Gibbney is third on the *ADB* authors ‘honour roll’, after the incomparable Gerry Walsh, author of 195 *ADB* articles, and Martha Rutledge (née Campbell), another long-term *ADB* staff member and member of the CDHS, who authored 172 articles.

Thus the *ADB* and the CDHS in many ways have common origins and interests, and particularly during their early days were almost codependent. Yet over the intervening years, the disjuncture between the society (with its focus on local historical sources, archives and heritage) and the academy (with its prevailing interest in broad historical themes and change), which early members such as Clark, Fitzhardinge, Wardle, Phillips and Gibbney sought to bridge, has if anything widened. This was only partly due to physical separation of the entities that reduced the opportunities for collegiality that had characterised the society's early days. The space problems that had so concerned the society's early committees, partially resolved by Blundell's farmhouse in 1964, were improved by the acquisition in 1977 of premises at the Griffin Centre in the heart of the city's central business district, and subsequently the society's current headquarters at the Curtin shops. It has now been some time since an ANU historian has served on the society's committee. Although members such as Pat Clarke continue their membership of the society and their involvement with the *ADB*—Pat being a long-time member of the *ADB*'s Commonwealth working party and a regular contributor to the *ADB*—there now seem fewer opportunities than ever for the entities to explore and develop their common interests. This might be partly explained by the increasing absorption of the *ADB* into the academic structure of ANU. After a review of its operations in 2008 (the 'Gregory Review'), the *ADB* was integrated into a new research centre—the National Centre of Biography—within the School of History. The new body was charged with the aim of becoming the leader in Australian biographical research, which meant developing a scholarly infrastructure of collaborative research, publication and outreach, and an active involvement in the school's postgraduate and teaching programs. Many of the *ADB* staff thus became academics, with the accompanying demands to pursue private research agendas and scholarly publication, as well as to take on teaching responsibilities. Yet concurrently, during the period since World War II, there has been a steady 'mainstreaming' of biography, local and family history back into academic history, with individual case studies being increasingly seen as useful in illustrating social and cultural change:

there has been a move away from thinking in terms of larger structures toward looking at the many different ways in which individuals understand and think about the world and represent themselves within it in 'lived reality'. Biography, or 'using lives', has come to be seen as a research methodology in itself. It allows analysis of context and historiography, and a rethinking of what is important in history.<sup>35</sup>

This issue of the *Australian Journal of Biography and History* is intended partly to recognise and honour the close relationship of the past, but also to reiterate the close and continuing relationships between the study of biography, as exemplified by the *ADB*, and the practice of local and family history and heritage, the mission of the society. Most of the contributors are members of the society, and have been involved in the often painstaking and minute study of aspects of the history of

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35 Nolan, 'Kindred Practices?', 116.

Canberra and its region for many years. In 'A City and Its People: Canberra in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*', Karen Fox, a research fellow at the National Centre of Biography and a research editor with the *ADB*, explores Canberra history by discussing some of wide array of people 'who have lived, worked, loved and fought in the Canberra district', and who are represented in the *ADB*, as well as its ancillary websites, 'Obituaries Australia' and 'People Australia'. James McDonald, in his article 'A Good Sheep Station Ruined', examines the pastoral origins of the Canberra district, finding that the industry in the region was, before the founding of the capital city, once a centre of innovation and enterprise, with stations such as Henry 'Babe' Curran's Ginninderra becoming a national exemplar of the wool industry. In a second essay, 'Migration as an Opportunity for Reinvention: Alfred and Margaret Rich of Gundaroo', McDonald discusses the potential of immigration to remake oneself, essentially to redefine identity, using the biographies of two people, both of whom had faced disadvantages in England because of their racial backgrounds, in establishing new lives and careers at Gundaroo.

The next article, 'Three Years in the Life of Chief Constable Patrick Kinsela', by Gillian Kelly, examines the role of the first policeman in the district, who took up his posting at the nascent town of Queanbeyan in 1837, and in many ways exemplified the system of justice in the region until his early death in 1841. Kinsela is an unusual biographical subject as very little is known about his life until he assumed the role, while from then on, his life and times come into focus by virtue of his reports, reports in the local press and colonial government inquiries. Kelly, however, finds evidence that he attained his position of responsibility through his membership of military networks of patronage that spanned the British Empire, and found expression in the New South Wales colony. Michael Hall, in his essay 'The Sentinel over Canberra's Military History', explores the connections between the Anglican Church of St John the Baptist, now in the Canberra suburb of Reid, and the military, and the war experiences of some of its parishioners. The final two essays of the volume move towards aspects of the modern history of Canberra, the first exploring the life stories of Vince and Viola Kalokerinos who, for many years, ran a milk bar at Curtin, a place that has assumed a prominent place in both the commercial and social history, and indeed has become almost a part of the folklore, of the city. Their story is a reminder of the impact of non-English speaking people, particularly Greeks, on the development of Canberra, and their willingness to work long hours to provide essential services to a population that was made up largely of government employees. Finally, Nick Swain discusses the life and work of one of Canberra's early photographic entrepreneurs, Les Dwyer, who came to Canberra as a construction labourer in 1924 but, as a consequence of the Depression and workplace injury, converted a hobby into an enterprise. As an energetic and capable photographer, he was one of those who, along with Jack Mildenhall, Richard Strangman, Alex Collingridge, Fred Bareham and Maxwell Ahearne, was responsible both for creating a visual culture and a pictorial record of the city in the twentieth century.

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